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ABSTRACT

This study explored the model minority stereotype by examining the differences between Asian American students and other racial groups in terms of higher education aspirations, academic achievement, and socioeconomic characteristics. It is based on subset of data from the 1988 National Education Longitudinal Study, namely 973 Asian American, 939 African American, 934 Latino, and 974 white 10th graders. The study compared student socioeconomic influences and numerous variables affecting academic aspiration and achievement. It concluded that unlike the generally-held perception, the achievement of Asian American students as a group is not shared by all Asian American students. Although Asian Americans as a group excelled over white, African American, and Latino students, higher educational level does not appear to lead to higher occupational status for Asian Americans, as it does for white Americans. The study also found that South Asians tended to have the highest academic achievement of all Asian American groups, followed by Chinese, Southeast Asians, Koreans, Filipinos, and Japanese. Parental expectations, self-concept, and vision appeared to be the most important factors affecting higher education aspiration, regardless of the racial background of the students. An appendix provides frequency distributions, regression models, and other statistical data. (Contains 39 references.) (MDM)

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REEXAMINATION OF THE MODEL MINORITY STEREOTYPE: AN ANALYSIS OF FACTORS AFFECTING HIGHER EDUCATION ASPIRATIONS OF ASIAN AMERICAN STUDENTS

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This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education held at the Marriott Hotel, Orlando, Florida, November 2-5, 1995. This paper was reviewed by ASHE and was judged to be of high quality and of interest to others concerned with the research of higher education. It has therefore been selected to be included in the ERIC collection of ASHE conference papers.

Reexamination of the Model Minority Stereotype:
An Analysis of Factors Affecting Higher Education Aspirations of
Asian American Students

Abstract

The primary purpose of this study was to reexamine the model minority stereotype through the analysis of factors affecting higher education aspirations of Asian American students. This study was based on the First Follow-Up Survey of the 1988 National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS:88). The sample size of this study was 3,820 (973 Asian Americans, 939 African Americans, 934 Latinos, and 974 whites). The 973 Asian Americans include 257 Chinese, 210 Filipinos, 151 Koreans, 67 Japanese, 188 Southeast Asians, and 100 South Asians. Descriptive statistics, analysis of variance, Scheffe's multiple comparison, and multiple regression analysis were used to analyze the data.

It is concluded that unlike the generally-held perception, the achievement of Asian American students as a group is not shared by all Asian American students, and they are indeed diverse and heterogeneous in terms of academic achievement, educational aspirations, and socioeconomic characteristics. Although Asian American students may appear to be highly successful as a group, there are a large number of Asian American students who need assistance, support, and encouragement from parents, teachers, and institutions. The myth of Asian American success has camouflaged the institutional disadvantages and inequities experienced by Asian American students in need, and has resulted in a lack of the care and attention that they deserve. The findings of this study provide important implications for educators and policy makers to develop programs and services which respond to the educational needs and aspirations of Asian American students.

Statement of Problem

Over the past two decades Asian Americans have been the nation's fastest growing minority group. In the past decade the immigration rate from Asia has averaged 281,740 immigrants per year and has been the second highest immigration rate in the world, next to that from North America with 312,500 immigrants per year (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993).

From 1970 to 1980, the number of Asian Americans increased from 1.4 million to 3.5 million (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1982), and increased further to 7.3 million in 1990, a 107.8 percent increase over the 1980 Asian American population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993). It is predicted that the Asian American population could grow to almost 10 million, about 4 percent of the total United States population by the year 2000 (Gardner et al., 1985).

Although Asian Americans are still a much smaller group compared to other minority groups such as

African Americans and Latinos, their potential for growth is enormous for the next decade, given that Asian Americans currently represent approximately 40 percent of all immigrants to the United States (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993). It is expected that America's future would tend to be increasingly Asian (Gardner et al., 1985). Accordingly, it is not only necessary but also significant to examine educational aspirations and needs of Asian Americans.

The major Asian American groups in the United States include Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, Vietnamese, and Asian Indians (Gardner et al., 1989). Since the 1960s, the media and academic journals have depicted Asian Americans as the model minority, which refers to the stereotype of Asian Americans who have achieved extraordinary success academically as well as economically (Chan, 1991; Commission on Civil Rights, 1980; Sue, 1973; Takaki, 1989). It is widely believed that Asian Americans are well represented or even overrepresented in higher education (Lee, 1991). It is reported that Asian Americans not only have higher college attendance rates but also higher achievement test scores than white Americans (Chronicle of Higher Education, 1992 ; Lee, 1991).

However, contrary to the widespread stereotype of Asian Americans, there are also undereducated and those who have low socioeconomic status populations within the Asian American population. Asian Americans are not homogeneous in terms of their culture, values, educational achievement, and economic well-being and some groups still lag behind (Gardner et al., 1989; Locke, 1992). For example, while median family income of Asian Americans was $41,251 in 1990, median family incomes of Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians, and Hmongs were $33,909, $18,126, $23,101, and $14,327, respectively (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1993).

Many authors assert that the belief that Asian Americans have been successful and problem-free is a myth rather than a reality and suggest reexamination of the model minority stereotype. The model minority stereotype focuses on Asian Americans who are college graduates or who have high status occupations, but does not consider the substantial number of the uneducated, illiterates, and those who have low paying jobs

(Commission on Civil Rights, 1980; Sue & Okazaki, 1990). Despite the myth of Asian Americans' educational and economic success, Asian Americans have not enjoyed the same occupational or financial success as whites (Lee, 1991; Wong, 1994). A large proportion of Asian Americans have occupations that are not consistent with their levels of education (Commission on Civil Rights, 1980; Kan et al., 1984; Kim, 1987). Asian Americans earn incomes that are lower than those of whites with the same level of education (Commission on Civil Rights, 1980; Hsia & Hirano-Nakanishi, 1989; Sue, 1981).

The model minority stereotype has adversely affected Asian American students. Indeed, the stereotype has focused on the alleged academic success and there are virtually no studies addressing failure among Asian American students (Slaughter-Defoe et al., 1990). Although the model minority stereotype may in some ways be flattering to Asian Americans, it does not help teachers, administrators, and educators understand difficulties that Asian American students face at school or at home (Goto, 1994). The model minority stereotype has impeded Asian American students from receiving adequate student services and support, and some students are experiencing a feeling of anxiety and psychological stress (Sue, 1990). Further, the widely believed stereotype of Asian American academic success appears to have led to official neglect of the development of programs and services for Asian American students. As a result, both the issue of "higher education achievement of Asian Americans" and a debate over the issue of "whether the success of Asian Americans, namely the model minority stereotype, is a myth or a reality" have emerged as mounting concerns for Asian American studies in the nation's higher education.

Purpose of the Study

Based on the defined research problem, the primary purpose of this study is:

1) To examine differences between Asian American students and other racial groups in terms of higher education aspirations, academic achievement, and socioeconomic characteristics,
2) To examine differences among Asian American groups in terms of higher education aspirations, academic achievement, and socioeconomic characteristics, and
3) To examine factors related to Asian American students' higher education aspirations.

Research Questions

1) Are there differences between Asian American students and other racial groups (African Americans, Latinos, and whites) in terms of higher education aspirations, academic achievement, and socioeconomic characteristics?
2) Are there differences among Asian American groups (Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, Filipinos, Southeast Asians, and South Asians) in terms of their higher education aspirations, academic achievement, and socioeconomic characteristics?
3) How are the higher education aspirations of Asian American students related to student-level factors (socioeconomic characteristics, track placement, academic achievement, demographic characteristics, parental expectations, peer-influence, and academic self-concept and vision)?
4) How are the higher education aspirations of Asian American students related to school-level factors (type of school, academic climate of school, disciplinary climate of school, racial composition of school, socioeconomic composition of school, and location of school community)?
5) Among these 13 factors (seven student-level factors and six school-level factors), which subset of the variables best explains Asian American students' higher education aspirations?

Significance of the Study

Although Asian immigration has more than 150 years of history, research on Asian Americans has been quite limited. Until the 1950s, no such research seems to have been conducted. In the 1960s, a few studies began to appear in the literature for selected Asian American groups. Since the 1970s, studies of Asian Americans have increased and considered more diverse Asian American groups. However, very few studies have focused on higher education achievement of Asian Americans. More specifically, research focused on factors that influence higher education aspirations of Asian American students seldom has been conducted.

This study examines differences between Asian American students and other racial groups in terms of higher education aspirations, academic achievement, and socioeconomic characteristics, and investigates the determining factors associated with higher education aspirations of Asian American students. In addition, this study investigates differences among Asian American groups in terms of their higher education aspirations, academic achievement, and socioeconomic characteristics in order to examine the model minority stereotype. As mentioned earlier, the model minority stereotype of Asian Americans has been widely believed without a careful examination and analysis. Therefore, this study could contribute to the literature on both the model

minority stereotype and Asian Americans in secondary and higher education.

Perhaps Asian Americans are the most culturally diverse racial group. "Asian Americans" is often used synonymously with "Asian Pacific Americans" or "Asians and Pacific Islanders" in the literature. Asian Americans are extremely heterogenous in terms of their cultures, values, religions, native languages, and regions of their homelands. Accordingly, previous studies on Asian Americans tend to include an Asian American group or selected Asian American groups that appear to share similarities and commonalities, i.e., Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, Southeast Asian Americans, Far East Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, etc. On the contrary, the present study is concerned with six major Asian American groups in the United States, including Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, Southeast Asians (Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians, Thai, etc.), and South Asians (Asian Indians, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankans, etc.). Consequently, the findings of this study would reflect the majority of the Asian American population and provide a fair picture of the Asian American population in general.

Further significance of this study stems from its being a comparative study that includes not only Asian Americans but also Latinos, African Americans, and whites in the sample. This study would be an addition to empirical research that explains the reported discrepancies between the achievement of Asian Americans and other racial groups, by comparing and illustrating the differences between these groups. Likewise, by comparing and illustrating the differences among Asian American groups, this study would shed light on the reality of the model minority stereotype.

A possible contribution of this study is that some of the findings of this study could provide implications not only for Asian American students but also for other minority students. That is, some of the factors encouraging or discouraging higher education aspirations of Asian American students could also be incorporated into learning environments of other minority students.

Finally, with the information provided by this study, school administrators, faculty, counselors, and policy makers could design and develop programs and services that help Asian American students overcome

obstacles to access to the baccalaureate degree.

Ultimately, this study could make major contributions to 1) the examination of the model minority stereotype, 2) an understanding of educational realities that Asian American students face, and 3) the improvement of degree achievement and higher education opportunities for Asian American students.

Review of the Literature

Success of Asian Americans: Myths and Realities

The image of Asian Americans is that of a highly successful minority who have "made it" in American society. The stereotype that Asian Americans represent a model minority has been portrayed by the media and press since the 1960s, with published reports of Asian Americans' high academic achievement, low crime rates, and the absence of mental health and juvenile problems (Chan, 1991). Indeed, the 1990 U.S. Census appears to substantiate this common belief. Median family income of Asian Americans was $41,251 whereas that of the general American population was $35,225. Specifically, median family incomes of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos were considerably higher than that of the general American population, with median family incomes of $41,316, $51,550, and $46,698, respectively. The same appears to hold true for educational attainment. More than 36 percent of Asian Americans had the bachelor's degree or beyond whereas 21.6 percent of whites achieved the same levels of education in 1990 (The Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac, 1992).

However, a careful analysis of the status of Asian Americans does not support their success myth in all regards. First, statistics on Asian American family incomes do not take into account the following: 1) the statistics do not pay attention to the Asian American groups who have not achieved economic "success" such as Vietnamese (median family income, $30,550), Cambodians (median family income, $18,126), Laotians (median family income, $23,101), and Hmongs (median family income, $14,327); 2) Asian Americans have a higher percentage of more-than-one-worker-per-household families than do whites (Gardner et al., 1989; Hsia & Hirano-Nakanishi, 1989; Sue, 1981); 3) Despite the higher family median income, Asian Americans

have an equal incidence of poverty (Hsia & Hirano-Nakanishi, 1989; Sue, 1981); 4) Asian Americans receive less poverty assistance and welfare than the general population (Commission on Civil Rights, 1992; Sue, 1981); and 5) Asian Americans experience a discrepancy between their education and income (Commission on Civil Rights, 1980; Hsia & Hirano-Nakanishi, 1989; Sue, 1981).

Second, in terms of educational attainment, Asian Americans represent a bimodal mixture of extremely successful higher education attainment and a large undereducated mass (Sue & Okazaki, 1990; Sue, 1981). The myth of Asian American educational success focuses only on the highly educated Asian Americans, but does not pay attention to the substantial number of undereducated.

According to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1992), the highest average attrition rate (48 percent) was for schools with large concentrations of Southeast Asians. High dropout rates have also been reported for some Asian American groups such as Filipinos (46.1 percent) and Samoans (60 percent).

Finally, a large number of Asian Americans still live in poverty. It is widely recognized that Chinatown, Manilatown, Japantown in San Francisco and New York represent ghetto areas with high unemployment, poverty, health problems, and gang problems (Sue, 1981; Suzuki, 1989).

Wong (1994, p. 22-23) criticizes the false picture of Asian Americans as the model minority:

> The myth of the model minority camouflages
> the institutional injustices, inequities
> and disadvantages suffered by some Asian
> ethnic groups such as the Hmongs and Vietnamese.
> The poor, victims of violence, [and]
> dropouts...go unrecognized and unseen...
> There are no collected statistics and numbers
> to illuminate their conditions. The poverty
> goes unseen, the domestic violence
> remains unreported and dropout rates are
> rarely mentioned. Meanwhile, the race of
> the virtuous worker, hardworking student,
> and attentive mother gain visibility but
> their class, generational status, and
> ethnicity are erased.

The myths and stereotype about Asian Americans, that they have achieved extraordinary success and

they experience no great difficulties and problems in American society, must be carefully examined. A close analysis of Asian American myths and a thorough understanding of their realities could help Asian American students overcome academic barriers and achieve higher education opportunities.

Cultural Values and Relative Functionalism

It is commonly perceived that despite past discrimination, Asian Americans have performed well in school largely because their immigrant ancestors brought with them a cultural respect for education which generations of families instill in their children (Goto, 1994). Asian Americans tend to emphasize family, community, culture, and global influence (Locke, 1992; Watanabe, 1973) whereas the dominant culture of the United States focuses more on the importance of the individual (Locke, 1992). Asian Americans possess a culture that stresses reservation of strong feelings, obedience to family authority, and sacrifice of individuality to the benefit of family (Lee 1991; Locke, 1992; Watanabe, 1973).

Asian culture and values affect the valuation of education, the status of teachers, respect for the elderly, subordination to the father, and parental support for children (Chun, 1980; Lee, 1991). Asian culture and traditions continue to affect Asian Americans today in a way that a good education is perceived the most important means to gain economic success and social respect (Lee, 1991; McGinn et al., 1980). Furthermore, it is believed that "academic achievement is not a personal matter for children but is related to the honor of the family, especially that of parents" (Lee, 1991, p. 149). Accordingly, Asian parents have close ties with their children and provide tremendous support for them (Lee, 1991; McGinn et al., 1980). Asian parents invest in the well-being of their children and family by using their time and resources to ensure that their children have the best opportunities to succeed in school (Yao, 1985). Asian culture and values also influence the teacher-student relationship. Asian students are socialized to obey and respect their teachers (Lee, 1991). The support and encouragement from parents, respect for teachers, and a positive attitude toward education appear to be positively related to academic achievement and higher education aspirations of Asian American students.

In fact, a growing body of empirical research has connected patterns of academic achievement of Asian American students to their cultural values, including parental expectations and parental belief (Alva, 1993; Hess & Azuma, 1991). Likewise, this study examines the effect of parental encouragement and expectation stemmed from Asian culture on higher education aspirations of Asian American students.

Many Asian American students "perceive problems in upward mobility because of limitations of English language proficiency, discrimination, or cultural conflicts" (Alva, 1993, p. 408). They tend to view the relative function of education as a means of achieving upward mobility (Sue & Okazaki, 1990). Consequently, they are more likely to intend to go to college. According to Sue and Okazaki (1990), educational achievement of Asian American students must be explained by individual perceptions of the relative function of education as a means of achieving economic success and social respect. Likewise, this study examines the effect of academic self-concept and vision stemmed from their cultural value on higher education aspirations of Asian American students.

Higher education aspirations expressed by Asian American students are a product of the interaction between their personal characteristics and learning environment. Therefore, it is important to study and analyze how the social context of school as an educational setting affects academic achievement of an Asian American student and his/her aspirations for higher education. This study attempts to examine the role of both student characteristics and school characteristics in explaining the differential patterns of higher education aspirations of Asian American students.

Factors Affecting Higher Education Aspirations

Although examining the myth and stereotype of educational success for Asian Americans has emerged as one of the major concerns for Asian American Studies in the nation's higher education, only a few studies have been conducted on higher education aspirations of Asian American students. Contrary to the image of highly successful and problem-free Asian Americans, it is found that Asian American students experience feelings of loneliness, isolation, and anxiety (Sue, 1981; Sue, 1990).

The model minority stereotype has impeded Asian American students from receiving adequate student services and assistance (Wong, 1994). This study attempts to examine and analyze both factors that encourage higher education aspirations of Asian American students and barriers that discourage their aspirations for higher education. Thus, the question of "what affects higher education aspirations of Asian American students" is a primary concern for this study. The literature provides a variety of factors affecting higher education aspirations as answers to the question.

Meyer (1970) discusses factors affecting college aspirations in the sociological context. He states that a student's decision to attend college can be explained by 1) resources the individual has within the educational system, such as individual mental ability and 2) the individual's resources in other social institutions, such as family socioeconomic status and associated family expectations. In addition to the effects of mental ability and family status, the social status of the school or of its community influences a student's actual attendance in college. Meyer analyzes the effects of the school status in two main structural mechanisms: the positive effects and the negative effects. The school with high socioeconomic status may encourage college aspirations of its students through a network of college-oriented teachers, curricula, and academic counselors. Likewise, the high status school may provide its students with a college-oriented climate, more college-oriented peers, and positive values toward college. On the other hand, Meyer also discusses the negative feature of the high status school. He states that in a school with high socioeconomic status, the academic ability of average students tends to increase. "The higher the ability of his [or her] average peer, the poorer are the grades any given student reports and the less confidence he [or she] has in his own ability" (p. 66). Consequently, he/she is less likely to desire to go to college.

Carpenter and Western (1982) investigate influential factors on higher education aspirations in relation to the gender difference. They claim that the effects of social origins, schooling, perceived influence of significant others, and academic self-concept on higher education aspirations are more explanatory for male students than female students. However, parents' encouragement, teachers' expectations, and peer-influence

have a major impact on higher education aspirations of all students regardless of their gender difference.

Rumberger and Willms (1992) are particularly concerned about educational underachievement of minority students. They examine minority underachievement in education and its related factors in two main structural perspectives. They classify factors affecting educational achievement into two broad variables: student-level variables and school-level variables. Student-level variables include student's race or ethnicity and his/her family background. School-level variables include socioeconomic composition of school, racial composition of school, academic, social, and disciplinary climate of school, organizational resources, quality of teaching, staff problems, and peer-influence.

Lamb (1989) investigates the impact of the selected factors affecting higher education aspirations of secondary school students in the sociocultural context. He focuses on the effects of cultural consumption on the college plans of secondary school students. Cultural consumption refers to "the selective consumption of high culture activities, such as going to the theater and attending concerts, art exhibitions, and museums that has direct relevance to schooling and attainment" (p. 96). In addition to cultural consumption, he identifies influential factors related to college plans. They include student's social origin, such as father's occupation, father's education, and mother's education and type of school the student attends. Lamb suggests that a variety of cultural activities would play an influential mediating role between student's social origin and his/her educational plans. Students from higher status origins would develop the kinds of skills, culture, and dispositions from their background that are pivotal for successful academic achievement. However, students from lower status origins are disadvantaged in school because they are not exposed to any substantial benefit from their background to assist them to achieve academic success.

Carpenter and Fleishman (1987) examine the relationship between college intentions (higher education aspirations) and actual college attendance and conclude that college intentions (higher education aspirations) are a valid predictor of actual college attendance. They provide a variety of factors that determine higher education aspirations. The determinants offered by Carpenter and Fleishman include student's social

characteristics, post-high school plans, attitudes toward higher education, academic ability, high school academic achievement, parental encouragement and expectations and friends' plans to go to college.

McCartin and Meyer (1988) look at the continuing influence of family socioeconomic status on academic achievement and college plans. They primarily put emphasis on the behavioral and attitudinal outcomes of different family structure on the development of adolescents. They explain factors related to higher education aspirations of high school students in the family structure perspective. McCartin and Meyer state that family living arrangements (single-parent families vs. two-parent families), family socioeconomic status (parents' occupations and educational levels), and the number of siblings are crucial factors to both student academic achievement and college plans. Family size (the number of siblings) appears to be one of the predictors of college plans; "...as children share adult resources for intellectual stimulation, the amount of parental attention decreases when the number of children in the family increases" (p.380). Consequently, family size (the number of siblings) is related to student academic achievement, and in turn, influences college plans of high school students.

Hallinan and Williams (1990) stress the impact of the peer-influence process on higher education aspirations. They examine how characteristics of students and of students' close friends affect the students' higher education aspirations and actual college attendance. Individuals tend to have close relationships with those who share common values and attitudes. Hallinan and Williams assert that tracking has an impact on the peer-influence process. Most high schools track students according to their judgement of the students' academic ability. Tracking provides the students with opportunities for interaction with peers who have similar academic goals and experiences. In consequence, students in the academic or college preparatory track are expected to be influenced by peers who are in the same track and therefore are more likely to have aspirations for higher education.

Variables of the Study

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

STUDENT-LEVEL FACTORS

-Socioeconomic Characteristics
-Track Placement)
-Math Achievement
-Demographic Characteristics
-Parental Expectations
-Peer-Influence
-Self-Concept and Vision

SCHOOL-LEVEL FACTORS

-Type of School
-Location of School
-Academic Climate of School
-Disciplinary Climate of School
-Racial Composition of School
-Socioeconomic Composition of School

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

-Higher Education Aspirations

Data Source and Statistical Tools

This study was based on the First Follow-Up Survey of the 1988 National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS:88). In 1988, 24,599 eighth graders, their parents, their teachers, and their school principals were surveyed. The First Follow-Up Survey revisited the same sample of students in 1990, when they were in tenth grade. A total of 20,706 students were included in the First Follow-Up Survey. Of these 20,706 sample members, 1,183 were classified as dropouts, and 19,523 as tenth graders. Considering the 19,523 cases, this present study was concerned with Asian Americans, African Americans, Latinos, and whites. The total number of these Asian American students including Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, Filipinos, Southeast Asians, and South Asians was 973 whereas those of African Americans, Latinos, and whites were 1,877, 2,282, and 12,300, respectively. In order to balance the sample size of each group, this study employed a stratified systematic probability sampling. As a result, the actual sample size was 3,820 (973 Asian Americans, 939 African Americans, 934 Latinos, and 974 whites). The 973 Asian Americans include 257 Chinese, 210 Filipinos, 151 Koreans, 67 Japanese, 188 Southeast Asians, and 100 South Asians.

Descriptive statistics, analysis of variance, Scheffe's multiple comparison, and multiple regression analysis using backward elimination were employed to analyze the data.

Conclusions and Implications

CONCLUSION 1. Among the nationwide sample of tenth graders, Asian American students as a group excel over white, African American, and Latino students in terms of academic achievement, higher education aspirations, and parental level of education.

Evidence from the analysis of variance and Scheffe's multiple comparison suggests that Asian American students as a group exceed other racial groups in terms of academic achievement, higher education aspirations, and parental level of education (See Tables 7-10 in Appendix). Asian American students express significantly higher educational aspirations with a mean score of 17.42, compared to whites (16.18), African Americans (16.04), and Latinos (15.62). Asian American students have significantly higher academic achievement with a mean score of 6.43, compared to whites (5.78), African Americans (5.204), and Latinos (5.195). Asian American students have significantly higher parental level of education with a mean score of 15.78, compared to whites (14.53), African Americans (13.63), and Latinos (12.71).

Likewise, descriptive analysis provides consistent findings (See Tables 1 & 2 in Appendix). Among the nationwide sample of tenth graders, Asian American students as a group tend to receive higher parental expectations and encouragement, have more positive self-concept and vision, have more positive peer-influence, and are enrolled more in the academic program. Asian American students receive higher parental expectations with a mean score of 16.68, compared to African Americans (16.03), whites (15.86), and Latinos (15.73). Asian American students have more positive peer-influence with a mean score of 2.64, compared to African Americans (2.53), whites (2.453), and Latinos (2.446). The self-concept and vision of Asian American students is higher with a mean score of 3.92, compared to whites (3.71), African Americans (3.63), Latinos (3.52). More than 44 percent of Asian American students are enrolled in the academic program, while approximately 38 percent of whites, 27 percent of African Americans, and 23 percent of Latinos are enrolled in the academic program. These educational characteristics of Asian American students in general stem from

their cultural beliefs and values. It is commonly believed that Asian Americans in general have performed well in school mostly because they have a cultural respect and value for education. Asian culture and values emphasize the importance of education, respect for teachers, and parental support for children (Goto, 1994; Lee, 1991). The expectation and encouragement from parents, respect for teachers, and a positive attitude toward education are likely to be positively related to academic achievement and higher education aspirations of Asian American students. These findings are consistent with the literature (Alva, 1993; Hess & Azuma, 1991).

Asian culture and tradition continue to influence Asian Americans today in that a good education is perceived as the most important means to achieve upward mobility (Lee, 1991; Sue & Okazaki, 1990). They tend to believe that socioeconomic status can be achieved by their dedication to hard work and education. Therefore, it is likely that Asian Americans in general possess a positive self-concept and vision, have excellent academic achievement, and express strong higher education aspirations. These findings are supported by the literature (Lee 1991; Sue & Okazaki, 1990).

Indeed, Asian culture and values affect educational achievement and aspirations of Asian American students. However, it must be stressed that Asian culture per se is not a determinant of academic success and educational aspirations of Asian American students. Rather, the variables of this present study, such as expectations, support and encouragement from parents, academic self-concept and vision, positive peer-influence, curricular choices, and academic achievement by hard work, which stem from their cultural values and beliefs are the very factors encouraging higher education aspirations. In addition, it must be addressed that these positive characteristics of the general Asian Americans are not shared by all Asian American students. The relative excellence of Asian Americans as a group seems to have misled the public to believe that all Asian American students are high achievers.

CONCLUSION 2. Higher educational level does not appear to lead to higher occupational status for Asian Americans, as it does for white Americans.

Findings from descriptive statistics, analysis of variance, and Scheffe's multiple comparison suggest

that the occupational status of Asian parents in general is the same as that of white parents despite their higher level of education (See Tables 9 & 10 in Appendix). The mean score of Asian parents' occupational status is 0.53 higher than that of white parents' occupational status, but the mean difference between these two groups is not statistically significant. The mean score of Asian parents' educational levels is 1.25 higher than that of white parents' educational levels, and the mean difference between these two groups is statistically significant.

Specifically, only one of the six Asian ethnic groups has significantly higher parental status of occupation than whites, while four of the six Asian ethnic groups have significantly higher parental levels of education than whites. It has been widely believed that Asian Americans have achieved not only educational success but also economic success. The stereotype of Asian Americans is that of a highly successful minority who have "made it" in American society. The image of the model minority has been portrayed by the media and press since the 1960s (Chan, 1991; Sue, 1973; Takaki, 1989). However, a growing body of the literature (Hsia & Hirano-Nakanish, 1989; Sue, 1981; Sue & Okazaki, 1990; Suzuki, 1989; Wong, 1994) has focused on the social reality of Asian Americans, and has suggested the reexamination of the model minority stereotype. The literature suggests that Asian Americans have not enjoyed the same occupational achievement as whites despite the myth of Asian Americans' educational and economic success (Lee, 1991; Wong, 1994). A large proportion of Asian Americans have occupations that do not match with their levels of education (Commission on Civil Rights, 1980; Kan et al., 1984; Kim, 1987). Asian Americans earn incomes that are lower than those of whites with the same level of education (Commission on Civil Rights, 1980; Hsia & Hirano-Nakanish, 1989; Sue, 1981). The findings of this study substantiate the literature, suggesting that Asian Americans have the same status of occupations as whites despite their higher levels of education.

CONCLUSION 3. Asian American students are extremely diverse and heterogeneous in terms of higher education aspirations, academic achievement, and socioeconomic characteristics.

Evidence from this study indicates that there are significant differences among Asian ethnic groups in terms of academic achievement, higher education aspirations, and socioeconomic characteristics (See Tables

6-10 in Appendix). In the nationwide sample of Asian American tenth graders, South Asians tend to express the highest educational aspirations with a mean score of 18.80, followed by Koreans (18.01), Japanese (17.37), Chinese (17.35), Filipinos (16.93), and Southeast Asians (16.84). South Asians and Koreans have higher educational aspirations than the general Asian Americans (17.42).

The study found that South Asians tend to have the highest academic achievement with a mean score of 6.81, followed by Chinese (6.70), Southeast Asians (6.61), Koreans (6.46), Filipinos (5.95), and Japanese (5.64). Filipinos and Japanese have lower academic achievement than the general Asian Americans (6.43). Japanese students have lower academic achievement than white students (5.78), but have higher academic achievement than African American (5.204) and Latino (5.195) students. Unlike the common belief, Japanese students in the sample are the lowest of the six Asian ethnic groups.

It is widely perceived that Asian Americans are hard-working, intelligent, problem-free, and successful. Particularly, the image of Japanese is that of an extremely successful model minority in every aspect. Despite the stereotype, there are substantial numbers of Japanese Americans in need in the metropolitan areas (Nishimoto, 1989; Sue, 1981; Suzuki, 1989). Nishimoto (1989) states that there are substantial numbers of Japanese Americans at risk, including senior citizens, people who lack English proficiency, people in the poverty level, and battered women, and views those Japanese as the "unknown minority." It is recognized that Japan town, China town, and Manila town in San Francisco and New York represent ghetto areas with poverty, high unemployment, health problem, and juvenile delinquency (Sue, 1981; Suzuki, 1989). The generally-held perception, that all Japanese are highly successful appears to be another myth.

The data show that South Asians tend to have the highest parental level of education with a mean of 18.60, followed by Koreans (16.04), Japanese (15.95), Filipinos (15.55), Chinese (15.54), and Southeast Asians (14.11). Filipinos, Chinese, and Southeast Asians have lower parental levels of education than the general Asian Americans (15.78). Southeast Asians have lower parental levels of education than whites

(14.53), but have higher parental levels of education than African Americans (13.63) and Latinos (12.71).

The study found that South Asians tend to have the highest status of parental occupation with a mean of 60.20, followed by Japanese (57.95), Koreans (50.87), Filipinos (50.64), Chinese (49.35), and Southeast Asians (36.23). Chinese and Southeast Asians have lower status of parental occupations than the general Asian Americans (49.57). Contrary to common beliefs, Southeast Asian parents have even lower occupational status than African American (39.18) and Latino parents (37.58), although the mean differences are not statistically significant.

As the findings of this study clearly indicate, Asian American students are not homogeneous in terms of academic achievement, educational aspirations, educational attainment, and socioeconomic characteristics. Some Asian groups are far above whites, some are below whites but above African Americans and Latinos, and some are the same as African Americans and Latinos.

As Wong (1994) states, the model minority stereotype camouflages the institutional disadvantages suffered by some Asian ethnic groups such as Southeast Asians. Although some Asian ethnic groups do experience the poverty and social and educational problems, their difficulties have not been recognized.

Although Asian Americans as a group may appear to have educational attainment, a large number of Asian Americans have not achieved educational and economic success. This study suggests that the stereotype of Asian Americans, that they have achieved extraordinary success and they face no great difficulties in American society, is truly a myth rather than a reality.

It is found that South Asian students in the sample are far above than any other Asian ethnic group in every aspect. It is likely that South Asian students in the sample of this study may not fairly represent the general South Asian population due to selected immigration.

CONCLUSION 4. Asian American female students, Chinese in particular, tend to have lower educational aspirations than their male counterparts, whereas African American male students and Latino male students tend to have lower educational aspirations than their female counterparts.

The findings of multiple regression analysis indicate that being an Asian American female student,

Chinese in particular, is negatively related to higher education aspirations (See Table 15 in Appendix).

Despite 150 years of Asian immigration history, studies on Asian Americans have been very limited. Further, empirical research on Asian American women has been even more limited. Perhaps the negative relationship between Asian female students and higher education aspirations have a lot to do with their ascribed status in Asian culture and traditions. Asian culture, Confucian-influenced philosophy and tradition in particular are extremely male-dominated. In general, Asian families prefer boys rather than girls. Asian parents tend to have different expectations for their children according to gender of the children. Asian parents tend to expect their son to attain higher education, have a successful career, and further, become an important individual who can contribute to society. On the other hand, Asian parents tend to expect their daughter to be married to a "successful man" and live a happy family life. Although Asian culture and values respect and emphasize the importance of education, education for women is not perceived to be as important as education for men. In Asian culture, fathers earn incomes as bread winners, while mothers stay at home, do the house work, and take care of family. Accordingly, Asian girls and young women tend to lack female role models who have successful achievements in higher education and careers. Asian girls and young women tend to envision themselves as house wives or mothers rather than as career women. Therefore, Asian female students are less likely to have strong aspirations for higher education, which is essential for their career development and professional achievement.

On the other hand, the findings of this study indicate another disturbing trend. Higher education aspirations of Latino and African American students continue to lag behind those of Asian American and white students (See Table 7 in Appendix). Particularly, Latino and African American male students seem to be at risk. The findings suggest that being a Latino or African American male student is negatively related to higher education aspirations (See Tables 12 & 13 in Appendix). When combined with high dropout rates of Latino and African American students (Haggstrom, Blashcke, & Shavelson, 1990), it is concerning that the number of Latino and African American students in higher education is likely to decline.

CONCLUSION 5. Parental expectations and self-concept and vision appear to be the most important factors affecting higher education aspirations, regardless of racial background of students.

Parental expectations and self-concept and vision are suggested to be factors which best explain higher education aspirations for all students (See Tables 11-14 in Appendix). Multiple regression analysis using the backward elimination method indicates that parental expectations and self-concept and vision have the greatest impact on higher education aspirations, regardless of racial background of students.

For Asian American students, standardized betas for parental expectations and self-concept and vision were 0.4118 and 0.1826, respectively. For Latino students, standardized betas for parental expectations and self-concept and vision were 0.2224 and 0.4218, respectively. For African American students, standardized betas for parental expectations and self-concept and vision were 0.2285 and 0.3826, respectively. For white students, standardized betas for parental expectations and self-concept and vision were 0.3383 and 0.2808, respectively. Higher education aspirations of Asian American and white students appear to be more influenced by parental expectations, while those of Latino and African American students appear to be more affected by self-concept and vision.

Parental expectations and self-concept are often cited in the literature (Carpenter & Fleishman, 1987; Carpenter & Western, 1982) as determinants of higher education aspirations. These findings provide particularly significant implications for educators and policy makers in assisting minority students and students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. While interventions to influence socioeconomic factors such as parents' occupation and parents' education are unrealistic and ineffective, motivational factors such as parental encouragement, support, and expectations that would have a positive impact on self-concept and vision would be very effective in encouraging higher education aspirations of minority students and students from low socioeconomic backgrounds (Valadez & Kim, 1994).

CONCLUSION 6. Students' academic, socioeconomic, and demographic characteristics appear to have a greater impact on Asian American students' higher education aspirations than institutional characteristics.

The findings of the study indicate that there are significant differences among six Asian ethnic groups

in terms of the factors affecting higher education aspirations (See Tables 15-20 in Appendix). Overall, some of the institutional variables in this study such as location of school, academic climate of school, and disciplinary climate of school do not explain higher education aspirations of Asian American students. Among the school-level factors, type of school, racial composition of school, and socioeconomic composition of school (for Filipinos, Japanese, and Southeast Asians in particular) appear to be those which explain higher education aspirations of Asian Americans students.

The student characteristics in this study including track placement, socioeconomic characteristics, demographic characteristic (Chinese in particular), academic achievement, parental expectations, self-concept and vision, and peer-influence are highly associated with higher education aspirations of Asian American students.

These findings are supported by previous studies (Carpenter & Fleishman, 1987; Hallinan & Williams, 1990; McCartin & Meyer, 1988; Rumberger & Willms, 1992). Carpenter and Fleishman (1987) suggest that academic self-concept, parental expectations, and academic achievement motivate higher education aspirations. Students with a positive self-image and favorable attitudes toward college are more likely to have college plans. Students who have excellent academic achievement are more encouraged to exhibit aspirations for further education. Student motivation for higher education is positively reinforced by parental expectations and encouragement, positive self-concept and vision, and excellent academic achievement. Hallinan and Williams (1990) suggest that curricular choices and close friends' college plans are highly related to higher education aspirations, as close friends' positive values and goals and favorable attitudes toward college motivate students' higher education aspirations.

The primary focus of this study has been the selected factors associated with higher education aspirations of Asian American students. The study has examined differences between Asian American students and other racial groups and differences among Asian ethnic groups, and investigated the selected factors affecting higher education aspirations of Asian American students.

It is concluded that unlike the generally-held perception, the achievement of Asian American students as a group is not shared by all Asian American students, and they are indeed diverse and heterogeneous in terms of academic achievement, educational aspirations, and socioeconomic characteristics. Although Asian American students may appear to be highly successful as a group, there are a large number of Asian American students who need assistance, support, and encouragement from parents, teachers, and institutions. The model minority stereotype has focused only on the successful Asian American students, and has not paid attention to those who need the assistance and support. This is not to undermine the educational needs and aspirations of non-Asian American students, but to acknowledge the reality of Asian Americans and to help educators and policy makers understand difficulties and problems that Asian American students face. The myth of Asian American success has camouflaged the institutional disadvantages and inequities experienced by Asian American students in need, and has resulted in a lack of the care and attention that they deserve. The findings of this study provide important implications for educators and policy makers to develop programs and services which respond to the educational needs and aspirations of Asian American students. Through collaboration between higher education institutions and high schools, development of the programs and services could be implemented. When their dedication to hard work is combined with this support and assistance, Asian American students may become a true model minority.

Recommendations

Based on the issues generated from the findings of the study, the following recommendations were developed.

1. Higher education institutions and high schools should implement the development of programs and services which respond to the educational needs of Asian American students, such as developing academic and career counseling, providing tutoring and mentoring services, establishing Asian student associations and Asian American culture centers, and developing a diverse course curriculum, etc.

2. Asian American students experience institutional disadvantages due to the myth of educational and

economic success. Equal opportunities for financial aid, minority fellowships, or minority scholarships should be given to Asian American students in need.

3. Due to the influence of Asian culture and traditions, Asian female students are less likely to have higher education aspirations, which is essential for career achievement and professional development. More Asian female faculty should be recruited to mentor Asian female students who tend to lack role models.

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Appendix

Table 1. Frequency distributions of four racial groups in the nationwide sample of tenth graders, in terms of track placement, gender, location of school, and type of school

	Asian		Latino		African American		white	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Track Placement								
General	293	30.11	326	34.90	287	30.56	406	41.68
Academic	432	44.40	212	22.70	251	26.73	368	37.78
Vocational	59	6.06	96	10.28	142	15.12	61	6.26
Other	189	19.42	300	32.12	259	27.58	139	14.27
	973	100.00	934	100.00	939	100.00	974	100.00
Gender								
Male	479	49.23	448	47.97	470	50.05	464	47.64
Female	494	50.77	486	52.03	469	49.95	510	52.36
	973	100.00	934	100.00	939	100.00	974	100.00
Location								
Urban	391	40.73	381	41.82	394	42.46	252	26.09
Suburban	543	56.56	472	51.81	448	48.28	539	55.80
Rural	26	2.71	58	6.37	86	9.27	175	18.12
	960	100.00	911	100.00	928	100.00	966	100.00
Type of School								
Public	832	86.13	858	93.87	856	92.14	825	85.32
Catholic	43	4.45	34	3.72	41	4.41	57	5.89
Non-Cath. Private	91	9.42	22	2.41	32	3.44	85	8.79
	966	100.00	914	100.00	929	100.00	967	100.00

Table 2. Mean comparison of four racial groups in the nationwide sample of tenth graders in terms of higher education aspirations, academic achievement, parents' occupation, parents' education, parental expectations, peer-influence, and self-concept & vision

	Asian	Latino	African American	white
Higher Education Aspirations	17.42	15.62	16.04	16.18
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.08)
N	898	860	860	932
Academic Achievement	6.43	5.195	5.204	5.78
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)
N	879	837	813	915
Parents' Occupation	49.57	37.58	39.18	49.04
	(0.76)	(0.74)	(0.77)	(0.67)
N	870	860	858	945
Parents' Education	15.78	12.71	13.63	14.53
	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.10)
N	801	811	831	921
Parental Expectations	16.68	15.73	16.03	15.86
	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)
N	843	754	757	863
Peer-Influence	2.64	2.446	2.53	2.453
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
N	858	766	768	901
Self-Concept & Vision	3.92	3.52	3.63	3.71
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)
N	876	809	819	924

* Standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 3. Frequency distributions of six Asian American groups in the nationwide sample of tenth graders in terms of track placement, gender, location of school, and type of school

	Chinese		Filipino		Japanese	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Track Placement						
General	81	31.52	58	27.62	18	26.87
Academic	106	41.25	90	42.86	38	56.72
Vocational	12	4.67	13	6.19	1	1.49
Other	58	22.57	49	23.33	10	14.93
	257	100.00	210	100.00	67	100.00
	Korean		SE Asian		S. Asian	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Track Placement						
General	59	39.07	51	27.13	26	26.00
Academic	59	39.07	81	43.09	58	58.00
Vocational	7	4.64	23	12.23	3	3.00
Other	26	17.22	33	17.55	13	13.00
	151	100.00	188	100.00	100	100.00
	Chinese		Filipino		Japanese	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Gender						
Male	126	49.03	107	50.95	30	44.78
Female	131	50.97	103	49.05	37	55.22
	257	100.00	210	100.00	67	100.00
	Korean		SE Asian		S. Asian	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Gender						
Male	77	50.99	94	50.00	45	45.00
Female	74	49.01	94	50.00	55	55.00
	151	100.00	188	100.00	100	100.00

Table 3. (Continued)

	Chinese		Filipino		Japanese	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Location						
Urban	108	42.86	79	38.16	26	38.81
Suburban	140	55.56	124	59.90	41	61.19
Rural	4	1.59	4	1.93	0	0.00
	252	100.00	207	100.00	67	100.00
	Korean		SE Asian		S. Asian	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Location						
Urban	49	32.67	95	51.35	34	34.34
Suburban	93	62.00	87	47.03	58	58.59
Rural	8	5.33	3	1.62	7	7.07
	150	100.00	185	100.00	99	100.00
	Chinese		Filipino		Japanese	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Type of School						
Public	223	87.80	174	83.25	52	77.61
Catholic	12	4.72	22	10.53	0	0.00
Non-Cath. Private	19	7.48	13	6.22	15	22.39
	254	100.00	209	100.00	67	100.00
	Korean		SE Asian		S. Asian	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Type of School						
Public	130	86.67	177	95.16	76	76.00
Catholic	2	1.33	6	3.23	1	1.00
Non-Cath. Private	18	12.00	3	1.61	23	23.00
	150	100.00	186	100.00	100	100.00

Table 4. Mean comparison of six Asian American groups in the nationwide sample of tenth graders in terms of higher education aspirations, academic achievement, parents' occupation, parents' education, parental expectation, peer-influence, and self-concept & vision

	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese
Higher Education Aspirations	17.35	16.93	17.37
	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.32)
N	234	192	59
	Korean	SE Asian	S. Asian
Higher Education Aspirations	18.01	16.84	18.80
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.25)
N	143	176	94
	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese
Academic Achievement	6.70	5.95	5.64
	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.25)
N	232	190	56
	Korean	SE Asian	S. Asian
Academic Achievement	6.46	6.61	6.81
	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.15)
N	138	169	94
	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese
Parents' Occupation	49.35	50.64	57.95
	(1.48)	(1.67)	(2.36)
N	230	189	63
	Korean	SE Asian	S. Asian
Parents' Occupation	50.87	36.23	60.20
	(1.69)	(1.82)	(1.81)
N	145	144	99
	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese
Parents' Education	15.54	15.55	15.95
	(0.27)	(0.22)	(0.35)
N	208	184	62

Table 4. (Continued)

	Korean	SE Asian	S. Asian
Parents' Education	16.04 (0.26)	14.11 (0.29)	18.60 (0.28)
N	136	122	89
	Chinese	**Filipino**	**Japanese**
Parental Expectations	16.73 (0.09)	16.43 (0.10)	16.47 (0.14)
N	215	180	59
	Korean	**SE Asian**	**S. Asian**
Parental Expectations	16.88 (0.13)	16.56 (0.11)	17.15 (0.15)
N	133	169	87
	Chinese	**Filipino**	**Japanese**
Peer-Influence	2.68 (0.04)	2.59 (0.04)	2.64 (0.07)
N	218	184	59
	Korean	**SE Asian**	**S. Asian**
Peer-Influence	2.63 (0.05)	2.62 (0.04)	2.74 (0.05)
N	136	167	94
	Chinese	**Filipino**	**Japanese**
Self-Concept & Vision	3.95 (0.04)	3.89 (0.04)	3.88 (0.08)
N	226	188	59
	Korean	**SE Asian**	**S. Asian**
Self-Concept & Vision	3.92 (0.04)	3.85 (0.04)	4.06 (0.04)
N	139	170	94

* Standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 5. One-way Analysis of Variance on Higher Education Aspirations, Parents' Occupation, Parents' Education, and Academic Achievement by Four Racial Groups (Asian, Latino, African American, and White) in the Nationwide Sample of Tenth Graders

Variable	F-Value	DF	P > |T|
Higher Education Aspirations	73.29	3	0.0001
Parents' Occupation	74.52	3	0.0001
Parents' Education	155.29	3	0.0001
Academic Achievement	86.87	3	0.0001

N = 3,550 for Higher Education Aspirations
N = 3,533 for Parents' Occupation
N = 3,364 for Parents' Education
N = 3,444 for Academic Achievement

Table 6. One-way Analysis of Variance on Higher Education Aspirations, Parents' Occupation, Parents' Education, and Academic Achievement by Six Asian American Groups (Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, Southeast Asians, and South Asians) in the Nationwide Sample of Tenth Graders

Variable	F-Value	DF	P > |T|
Higher Education Aspirations	9.98	5	0.0001
Parents' Occupation	18.20	5	0.0001
Parents' Education	20.85	5	0.0001
Academic Achievement	8.74	5	0.0001

N = 898 for Higher Education Aspirations
N = 870 for Parents' Occupation
N = 801 for Parents' Education
N = 879 for Academic Achievement

Table 7 : Scheffe's Test for Mean Differences of Higher Education Aspirations between Racial Groups in the nationwide sample of tenth graders

	Asian	Latino	African American	White	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Korean	SE Asian	S Asian
Asian	-									
Latino	1.80*	-								
African American	1.38*	0.42	-							
White	1.24*	0.56*	0.14	-						
Chinese	-	1.73*	1.32*	1.18*	-					
Filipino	-	1.31*	0.89*	0.75	0.42	-				
Japanese	-	1.75*	1.33	1.19	0.02	0.44	-			
Korean	-	2.39*	1.97*	1.83*	0.65	1.07	0.63	-		
Southeast Asian	-	1.22*	0.80	0.66	0.51	0.09	0.53	1.17	-	
South Asian	-	3.18*	2.76*	2.62*	1.44*	1.87*	1.43	0.79	1.96*	-
(Mean)	17.42	15.62	16.04	16.18	17.35	16.93	17.37	18.01	16.84	18.80

* indicates there is a statistically significant difference at 95% confidence interval.

Table 8 : Scheffe's Test for Mean Differences of Academic Achievement between Racial Groups in the nationwide sample of tenth graders

	Asian	Latino	African American	White	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Korean	SE Asian	S Asian
Asian	-									
Latino	1.23*	-								
African American	1.22*	0.01	-							
White	0.64*	0.59*	0.58*	-						
Chinese	-	1.50*	1.49*	0.92*	-					
Filipino	-	0.75*	0.74*	0.16	0.75*	-				
Japanese	-	0.45	0.44	0.14	1.06	0.30	-			
Korean	-	1.26*	1.25*	0.67*	0.24	0.51	0.81	-		
Southeast Asian	-	1.41*	1.41*	0.83*	0.09	0.66	0.97	0.15	-	
South Asian	-	1.61*	1.60*	1.03*	0.11	0.86	1.17	0.35	0.20	-
(Mean)	6.43	5.1950	5.2040	5.78	6.70	5.95	5.64	6.46	6.61	6.81

* indicates there is a statistically significant difference at 95% confidence interval.

Table 9 : Scheffe's Test for Mean Differences of Parents' Occupation between Racial Groups in the nationwide sample of tenth graders

	Asian	Latino	African American	White	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Korean	SE Asian	S Asian
Asian	-									
Latino	11.98*	-								
African American	10.38*	1.60	-							
White	0.52	11.46*	9.86*	-						
Chinese	-	11.76*	10.16*	0.30	-					
Filipino	-	13.06*	11.46*	1.60	1.30	-				
Japanese	-	20.37*	18.77*	8.91	8.61	7.31	-			
Korean	-	13.28*	11.68*	1.82	1.52	0.22	7.09	-		
Southeast Asian	-	1.36	2.96	12.82*	13.12*	14.42*	21.73*	14.64*	-	
South Asian	-	22.61*	21.01*	11.15*	10.85*	9.55	2.24	9.33	23.97*	-
(Mean)	49.57	37.58	39.18	49.04	49.35	50.64	57.95	50.87	36.23	60.20

* indicates there is a statistically significant difference at 95% confidence interval.

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Table10 : Scheffe's Test for Mean Differences of Parents' Education between Racial Groups in the nationwide sample of tenth graders

	Asian	Latino	African American	White	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Korean	SE Asian	S Asian
Asian	-									
Latino	3.07*	-								
African American	2.15*	0.93*	-							
White	1.25*	1.82*	0.90*	-						
Chinese	-	2.83*	1.91*	1.01*	-					
Filipino	-	2.84*	1.91*	1.02*	0.01	-				
Japanese	-	3.24*	2.32*	1.42	0.41	0.40	-			
Korean	-	3.34*	2.41*	1.51*	0.50	0.50	0.09	-		
Southeast Asian	-	1.41*	0.48	0.42	1.43*	1.43*	1.84*	1.93*	-	
South Asian	-	5.89*	4.96*	4.06*	3.05*	3.05*	2.64*	2.55*	4.48*	-
(Mean)	15.78	12.71	13.63	14.53	15.54	15.55	15.95	16.04	14.11	18.60

* indicates there is a statistically significant difference at 95% confidence interval.

Table 11. Regression Model on Asian American Students' Higher Education Aspirations in the Nationwide Sample of Tenth Graders - Backward Elimination Method.

Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	Prob > |T|	Standard-ized Estimate
Intercept	-1.4251	1.2911	0.2703	0.0000
Parents' Occupation	0.0144	0.0043	0.0011	0.1242
Academic Program	0.4179	0.1848	0.0243	0.0834
Academic Achievement	0.1906	0.0602	0.0017	0.1227
Parental Expectations	0.7825	0.0767	0.0001	0.4118
Peer-Influence	0.2952	0.1693	0.0819	0.0630
Self-Concept & Vision	0.9223	0.2029	0.0001	0.1826
Public	-1.0364	0.3782	0.0064	-0.1607
Non-Catholic Private	-0.9299	0.4424	0.0361	-0.1234
Racial Composition	0.1533	0.0672	0.0230	0.0816

R-square = 0.4682 N = 442

Table 12. Regression Model on Latino Students' Higher Education Aspirations in the Nationwide Sample of Tenth Graders - Backward Elimination Method.

Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	Prob > |T|	Standardized Estimate
Intercept	2.2438	0.9705	0.0213	0.0000
Parents' Education	0.1138	0.0370	0.0023	0.1266
Academic Program	0.5581	0.2441	0.0228	0.0933
Academic Achievement	0.1806	0.0578	0.0019	0.1215
Male	-0.5534	0.2009	0.0062	-0.1033
Parental Expectation	0.3326	0.0628	0.0001	0.2224
Self-Concept & Vision	1.5839	0.1627	0.0001	0.4218
Racial Composition	0.1653	0.0749	0.0281	0.0838

R-square = 0.5033 N = 372

Table 13. Regression Model on African American Students' Higher Education Aspirations in the Nationwide Sample of Tenth Graders - Backward Elimination Method.

Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	Prob > |T|	Standard-ized Estimate
Intercept	1.6624	1.0960	0.1301	0.0000
Parents' Occupation	0.0093	0.0050	0.0643	0.0768
Parents' Education	0.1093	0.0432	0.0118	0.1061
Academic Program	0.4480	0.2163	0.0390	0.0790
Academic Achievement	0.1623	0.0534	0.0025	0.1129
Male	-0.4431	0.2017	0.0286	-0.0815
Parental Expectations	0.3755	0.0659	0.0001	0.2285
Peer-Influence	0.3988	0.1756	0.0237	0.0862
Self-Concept & Vision	1.3544	0.1507	0.0001	0.3826

R-square = 0.4828 N = 414

Table 14. Regression Model on White Students' Higher Education Aspirations in the Nationwide Sample of Tenth Graders - Backward Elimination Method.

Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	Prob > |T|	Standardized Estimate
Intercept	1.6530	0.8407	0.0498	0.0000
Parents' Education	0.0918	0.0269	0.0007	0.1091
Academic Program	0.5817	0.1600	0.0003	0.1129
Academic Achievement	0.1304	0.0422	0.0021	0.0962
Parental Expectations	0.5264	0.0547	0.0001	0.3383
Peer-Influence	0.2868	0.1212	0.0184	0.0718
Self-Concept & Vision	1.0705	0.1368	0.0001	0.2808
Non-Catholic Private	0.4571	0.2668	0.0872	0.0512
Racial Composition	-0.1818	0.0747	0.0153	-0.0696

R-square = 0.5420 N = 577

Table 15. Regression Model on Chinese Students' Higher Education Aspirations in the Nationwide Sample of Tenth Graders - Backward Elimination Method.

Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	Prob > |T|	Standard-ized Estimate
Intercept	-5.1172	3.2430	0.1178	0.0000
Academic Achievement	0.3712	0.1328	0.0062	0.2212
Male	0.6465	0.3547	0.0714	0.1349
Parental Expectations	0.8966	0.1695	0.0001	0.4246
Self-Concept & Vision	1.1363	0.4050	0.0061	0.2331
Public	-1.8017	0.9388	0.0578	-0.2691
Non-Catholic Private	-1.8658	1.0488	0.0783	-0.2466
Academic Climate	0.5407	0.3117	0.0859	0.1301

R-square = 0.4859 N = 106

Table 16. Regression Model on Filipino Students' Higher Education Aspirations in the Nationwide Sample of Tenth Graders - Backward Elimination Method.

Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	Prob > |T|	Standard-ized Estimate
Intercept	-1.8788	2.8981	0.5183	0.0000
Academic Achievement	0.1959	0.1103	0.0789	0.1370
Parental Expectations	0.7963	0.1577	0.0001	0.3952
Self-Concept & Vision	1.6584	0.4135	0.0001	0.3088
Socioeconomic Composition	-0.7269	0.2444	0.0037	-0.2262

R-square = 0.4535 N = 102

Table 17. Regression Model on Japanese Students' Higher Education Aspirations in the Nationwide Sample of Tenth Graders - Backward Elimination Method.

Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	Prob > |T|	Standard-ized Estimate
Intercept	1.7886	5.7512	0.7579	0.0000
Parents' Occupation	0.0387	0.0171	0.0313	0.3148
Parental Expectations	0.7742	0.3262	0.0242	0.3473
Peer-Influence	1.2815	0.6020	0.0416	0.2917
Socioeconomic Composition	-0.9551	0.4846	0.0580	-0.2915
Urban	-1.8904	0.6984	0.0111	-0.3974

R-square = 0.5056 N = 35

Table 18. Regression Model on Korean Students' Higher Education Aspirations in the Nationwide Sample of Tenth Graders - Backward Elimination Method.

Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	Prob > |T|	Standard-ized Estimate
Intercept	2.3892	2.7025	0.3795	0.0000
General Program	1.4416	0.5950	0.0178	0.2942
Academic Program	1.8442	0.5799	0.0021	0.3909
Parental Expectations	0.8589	0.1612	0.0001	0.4913

R-square = 0.3898 N = 78

Table 19. Regression Model on Southeast Asian Students' Higher Education Aspirations in the Nationwide Sample of Tenth Graders - Backward Elimination Method.

Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	Prob > |T|	Standard-ized Estimate
Intercept	-0.9018	2.8275	0.7510	0.0000
Academic Program	1.1000	0.4918	0.0295	0.2016
Parental Expectations	0.7208	0.1666	0.0001	0.4027
Self-Concept & Vision	1.9511	0.4825	0.0002	0.4037
Socioeconomic Composition	-0.6512	0.3411	0.0616	-0.1663

R-square = 0.6391 N = 58

Table 20. Regression Model on South Asian Students' Higher Education Aspirations in the Nationwide Sample of Tenth Graders - Backward Elimination Method.

Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	Prob > |T|	Standard-ized Estimate
Intercept	-0.6541	2.7756	0.8145	0.0000
Parental Expectations	1.1343	0.1604	0.0001	0.6834

R-square = 0.4672 N = 58